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A L E C T U R E
ON THE
Republics of the Western Hemisphere,
AND THE
“MONROE DOCTRINE,” ~~112~~
DELIVERED IN THE
COOPER INSTITUTE, N. Y.,

SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1866,

BY

WILLIAM BARON WALSH.

“Westward the star of Empire takes its way,—
The three first acts already past;
The fourth shall close with the closing day,—
Earth’s noblest empire is the last.”

BISHOP BERKELEY, A. D., 1730.

PRICE 25 CENTS.

New York:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
AT FRANK McELROY’S MERCANTILE STEAM PRINTING HOUSE,
113 NASSAU STREET.

1868.



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P.H. HALLETT, ENGR. N.Y.

Yours Sincerely
Wm. B. Walsh

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LECTURE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—When Christopher Columbus and others—who were inspired by his genius, and who followed his example—revealed to mankind the elemental and geographical counterpoise of the then known world,—the *twin Continents* of North and South America—the WESTERN HEMISPHERE;—a new and startling epoch arose in the history and destiny of the human race. Almighty God in his providence,—by his mysterious and inscrutable wisdom, ordained that a wonderful latitude in wickedness and wisdom,—be given to the sons of Earth, in moulding their own destiny and providing for their own happiness—and in order to enlarge the field for this purpose, He revealed to them a new world in fulfillment of His decrees. At first, it became a field of sordid gain for the adventurous and hardy sons of the maritime Nations of Europe, who in the pursuit of their object, and guided by the unhallowed instincts of avarice—baptized it in the blood of the wild and untutored children of the forest,—multitudes of whom peopled the wilderness of this new land. A race whose origin and history is still a mysterious subject of speculation.

That primeval crime perpetrated by the pioneers of civilization on this Hemisphere, was terribly punished in the persons of the future colonists,—by compelling them to remove, or exterminate them, as their existence became incompatible with the progress of peace and civilization.

The early colonists, of course, were the subjects of the various monarchies of Europe, who, under the name and auspices of their kings, claimed and took possession of the land;—those of Spain and Portugal, settling in Mexico and South America;—North America being peopled from the kingdoms of the North and West of Europe,—and all paying tribute and allegiance to their respective sovereigns, until the whole of the two continents became nothing more or

less than appendages, and territories, owned and governed by the bloated and tyrannical kings of the Old World.

The logic of historical and political events; since that time has proved, that it was *not* in the order of an all-wise, just and overruling Providence, that *such* relations could long exist between the New World and the Old.

From the earliest ages of the world the human race—influenced by climate, locality and temperament,—in its various divisions has been strongly characterized, divided and swayed, by some leading distinctive and peculiar code of attributes,—embodied in their moral, religious, political and social instincts,—which may be clearly perceptible in its progress from brutal barbarism to the most refined civilization.

It is with that portion of mankind that inhabits, and owns, and governs, *and should govern* the Western Hemisphere ; that we wish to commune this evening.

Fellow-Citizens :—Two, great, protracted and sanguinary wars, have marked the advent and progress of the peoples of this Hemisphere to their present status. The first was with the wilderness and its hordes of barbarous and semi-barbarous natives ;—the proud, uncultured and unculturable children of nature—the lost progeny of humanity ;—the tear of sympathy cannot but arise at the contemplation of the hard necessity of their destiny,—but they had to yield, step by step, to the surging waves of civilization and its necessities ;—step by step, towards the far West, until they became lost in the golden halo of the setting sun.

That first war triumphantly accomplished its purpose,—it was successful in subduing the wilderness and the prairie,—the great inland seas and thousand-leagued rivers,—the stupendous mountains and their bounding streams,—all, all of this great Hemisphere has been subdued and made tributary to the progress and necessities of mankind and civilization. That first great battle was fought by the peoples of this Hemisphere with their faces to the West,—and when ended they paused and looked abroad over this wide and bounteous land—washed by the billows of the two

mightiest oceans of the globe ;—and with their souls heaving with emotions of gratitude, exultation and triumph ;—they turned their faces to the EAST—to the kings and kingdoms who claimed their tribute and allegiance,—and exclaimed with proud, defiant, and exultant voice,—“THIS LAND IS OURS,—it is ours for the reason that we have conquered and subdued it, by all the sacrifices that can be demanded of our genius, of our patient skill, and of our indomitable moral and physical courage and endurance,—it is ours by the law of conquest,—it is ours, by the fiat of the ‘KING OF KINGS,’—and we here, and now, devote and dedicate it to a new and enlightened destiny, to be perpetuated by our posterity throughout all enduring time,—and furthermore, we here and now proclaim ourselves disenthralled, independent and *free* from all monarchial governments and institutions now and forever and ever.”

Fellow-Citizens :—That is the language of the history, the genius, and the destiny of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere ; and the FIRST AURORA BOREALIS OF LIBERTY’S LIGHT, WAS SHOT UP FROM ITS NORTHERN HORIZON,—that light extended and expanded until it illumined the Southern Cross.

Then followed the *thundering key-note of Independence*, whose reverberations did not cease, until it mingled its sound with the tremendous roarings of the loftiest volcanoes of the Andes.

The first grand impulse given to the new and enlightened destiny of this Hemisphere, was embodied in the Declaration of Independence, by the United Colonies of Great Britain, in North America ; upon that declaration they threw the gage of battle,—that gage was taken up by Great Britain in the proud and arrogant consciousness of her power.

Then commenced the *second* great war of this Hemisphere ; the war of the colonists and subjects of the various European monarchies ;—the war of North and South American revolutions ;—the war of North and South American Independence ;—the war of North and South American freedom ;—a war in the results of which, that should determine the peoples of this Hemisphere to be one people,—one, in mutual enlighten-

ment,—one, in progress, one, in their federal Republican institutions,—and one, in a firm and close alliance, offensive and defensive, for the defense and maintenance of those institutions,—and to sum up, all one in the assertion and maintainence of the “Monroe Doctrine.” That noble doctrine,—that far-sighted policy, was enunciated in 1823, by James Monroe, and is embraced in the following two sections:

First, “The American Continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.”

Second. “The United States consider any attempt on the part of European Powers to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, *as dangerous to their peace and SAFETY.*”

Fellow-Citizens :—On the first enunciation of that policy, it was acquiesced in and accepted as the logical sequence, to the acknowledgment of the independence of the various Republics of both the Continents,—but in this, our own day, it has been grossly and treacherously violated by European powers,—and disgracefully overlooked or ignored on the part of the United States government.

The time has come when the people of this Republic should insist on the re-assertion of that Doctrine, and its maintenance by the indomitable and invincible power that gained our independence, and established our republican institutions,—and this contest should not cease until every vestige of monarchial rule shall be expelled from this Hemisphere.

Fellow-Citizens :—On the first war of the American revolutions,—the first war of American Independence,—I feel that it is not incumbent upon me to dwell, before this enlightened audience; enough, that it was gloriously triumphant,—enough, that it resulted in the firm establishment of our free federal Republican government,—that revolution in its results, is the wonder and admiration of the contemplative student of history,—the glory and triumph of the patriot,—and the subject of deep and delightful contemplation by the philan-

thropist and philosopher,—for it succeeded in eliminating a type of men, at once the honor and glory of the human race ;—there was one man among those men that furnishes the most exalted type of human nature—one man whose name has been placed by the universal consent of mankind, *high up above the galaxy of the most illustrious names of history*, who has elevated and sanctioned his position as the grand central figure amid the benefactors of mankind ;—need I say, that name and that man was George Washington ?—that name will be mingled with the sound of the last trumpet, heralding the last syllable of recorded time.

That revolution gave the United States of North America a place and a mission among the nations of the Earth ;—from the crucible of that revolution was evolved the grand and enlightened principle of civil and religious liberty—from which emanated the spirit of progress in the material prosperity of the citizen, under the most admirable system of government, that the genius or capacity of man ever conceived,—embodying the great paramount principle of self-government. But as there is no substance without a shadow, there was one principle which was inherited and retained in the National system,—that was inconsistent,—incompatible with, and antagonistic to the whole formula of our free institutions, and which remained ineradicated down to our own day,—that pernicious principle was the right of property in man—the principle of human bondage—the principle of Slavery ;—that principle has been the main disturbing element of this government since its organization,—that principle has been the breath of the nostrils of faction,—the argument and weapon of treason,—its hideous discord looming up into gigantic proportions, and causing issue after issue to multiply and accumulate upon each other until they finally culminated into the most stupendous civil war in the history of mankind.

It lacks but one decade of a century, since this government was put on trial, and owing to the genius and spirit of its institutions being so firmly implanted in the heart of the citizens it has been enabled to come out of every contest with both foreign and domestic enemies, at once

triumphant and strong,—and emerging from every contest with enlarged views of its mission, and renewed energy in its career ;—thereby becoming the hope of the oppressed, the terror of tyranny, and the beacon light of Freedom.

Fellow-Citizens :—Let us now turn to Mexico and South America, and their conquest by the chivalrous and daring adventurers of Spain, her Cortes', and her Pizarro's; who found there, myriads of native Indians hovering over the smouldering embers of an expiring civilization.

The researches of antiquarian philosophers have demonstrated that their civilization was coeval with the most ancient civilizations of the Old World,—that before the Greeks and Romans,—India, Phœnicia, Egypt,—Yucatan in Central America,—Mexico in the North and Peru in the South,—were leagued together by navigation, religion, and the arts; for the Peruvian ruins do not yield in importance to those of the other countries named,—nor in evident indications of the common origin of the Phœnicians, Egyptians and the Ancient American Civilizations.

The page of history that records the deeds of those conquerors, has been made luminous, and thrillingly descriptive by the captivating pen of Prescott; from whose pages I will beg leave to quote the two following passages illustrative of the spirit which animated *most* of the conquerors of South America.

“The effort to christianize the heathen is an honorable characteristic of the Spanish Conquest.

“The Puritan with equal religious zeal, did comparatively little for the conversion of the Indian, content as it would seem, with having secured to himself the inestimable blessing and privilege of worshiping God in his own way. Other adventurers who have occupied the New World, have often had too little regard for religion themselves, to be very solicitous about spreading it among the savages. But the Spanish missionary from first to last, has shown a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives.

“Under his auspices, churches on a magnificent scale have been erected, schools for elementary instruction founded,

and every rational means taken to spread the knowledge of religious truth, while he has carried his solitary mission into remote and almost inaccessible regions, or gathered his Indian disciples into communities, like the good Las Casas, in Cumana, or the Jesuits of California and Paraguay.

"At all times, the courageous ecclesiastic has been ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of the conqueror, and the no less wasting cupidity of the colonist; and when his remonstrances, as was too often the case, have proved unavailing, he has still followed to bind up the broken-hearted, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and light up his dark intellect with the revelation of a holier and happier existence.

"In reviewing the bloodstained records of Spanish Colonial History, it is but fair, and at the same time cheering to reflect, that the same Nation which sent forth the hard-hearted conqueror from its bosom, sent forth the missionary to do the work of beneficence, and spread the light of Christian civilization over the farthest regions of the New World."

Again, he says: "At the close of this long array of iron warriors, we behold the poor and humble missionary coming into the land on an errand of mercy, and everywhere proclaiming the glad tidings of peace. No warlike trumpet heralds his approach, nor is his course to be tracked by the groans of the wounded, and the dying; the means he employs are in perfect harmony with his end; his weapons are argument and mild persuasion; it is the reason he would conquer, not the body; he wins his way by conviction, not by violence; it is a moral victory to which he aspires, more potent, and happily more permanent than that of the blood-stained conqueror."

In order to draw enlightened deduction from the transpiring events of history, the mind should be transferred to the period; and to analyse the circumstances under which they occur.

At the period of the discovery and conquest of Mexico, and South America, Spain was resting after the wars of the Crusades, in which she took a leading part, *that* was the war of Christendom to roll back the Moslem tide of the

Saracen infidels, which flowed in from Asia through the eastern gates of Europe.

In that war, Spain was engaged for centuries. The standard of the Cross illuminated and upheld by the inspiration, and under the auspices of the *then* supreme and all-powerful Church; enlisted in its support the highest elements of civilization;—the most exalted personages of Christendom;—Emperors, Kings and Princes, emulating each other in enthusiastic chivalry and devotion to the cause, swaying the minds of the multitudes of Europe, and elevating them to the very highest pitch of religious fervor, chivalry, heroism and sacrifice.

The natural consequence of those religious crusades, was the education of the Spanish mind to such a degree, that the advancement of the banner of the Cross, the conversion of the infidel, and the propagation of the faith, became the supreme sentiment of the land, and it was at that period that the gates of a New World were opened to them wherein to enlarge the sphere of their mission,—and it is in that spirit, and with that view, that the conqueror was accompanied by the humble though zealous missionary,—one of whom, the good Las Casas, was ennobled by the title of “Protector General of the Indians; but unfortunately when the argument of the missionary failed to convince the idolatrous Indian, the argument of the sword was too often used to enlighten his perverse understanding. However, the conquest of the mind and body, had to be accomplished, and history does not produce, in any enterprise, men more competent for the undertaking.

When we reflect upon the magnitude of the enterprise, and compare it with the apparently inadequate means for its accomplishment, the mind becomes appalled, and can find no solution in the premises, but that the God whom they invoked, and whose mission and commands they felt themselves to be performing, must have inspired them with the wisdom, the courage and the endurance necessary for its success. It is not to be denied, that avarice and ambition, were associated in their minds with the religious crusades which they felt themselves called upon to pursue;—

three of the most powerful motives that sway the human soul.

But when we behold Cortes, with only some four or five hundred followers, penetrating into the heart of the Mexican Empire ; a land embracing millions of semi-civilized human beings, whose Emperor revelled in more than oriental magnificence, and before whose sceptre bowed all the neighboring nations who peopled the great valley of Anahauc, as the elevated table-lands of Mexico were called, raised nearly 8,000 feet above the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific, and enclosed by a cordonic boundary of immense piles of porphyritic rock—the Cordillera of the Andes, diverging east and west, embracing in their arms the immense plateau of the great valley of Mexico ;—and, moreover, when we reflect upon the fact of his cutting off the possibility of retreat, by the deliberate sinking of his fleet ;—the mind pauses with wondering admiration and astonishment, and awakens to the conviction that he and his followers *must* have been impelled by more than human power,—and that it was in the order of God's providence that they were there in the fulfillment of his command, “Go ye and teach all nations.” The story of their mission is as adventurous and romantic as any legend ever devised by Norman or Italian bard of chivalry.

And what manner of people did they find, among whom to spread the lights and blessings of Christian civilization ? A people whose system of life, social, political and religious, was at once astounding, incongruous and revolting ; the Aztec race and the other Indian races who bowed to their sceptre, combined in their religious code exalted principles of morality, faithfully observed, with the most debasing and revolting barbaric sacrificial idolatry ;—a people steeped to the lowest depths in the revelry of human sacrifices and voracious cannibalism ;—a people who sacrificed from no less than 20,000 to 50,000 human victims annually on the altar of their idols, and who had them served on their tables, cooked in all the refinement of the civilized *cuisine*, where they were devoured with the epicurean gusto of revolting fanaticism, in order to propitiate their gods.

At the dedication of a great temple to their war god, the appalling number of seventy thousand victims were sacrificed on the shrine of that terrible deity. The companions of Cortes counted 136,000 human skulls of the sacrificed victims in one building appropriated for their preservation; so that it was perfectly reconcilable with the will of a beneficent Providence that the land should be delivered over to another race, who would rescue it from the brutish superstitions that daily extended wider and wider with the extent of the empire,—the debasing institutions of the Aztecs furnished the best apology for their conquest; and all who did not come in under the fold or mantle of Christian civilization melted away under the sword of the conqueror.

The objects and results of the career and exploits of Pizarro in Peru forms almost an exact counterpart to that of Cortes in Mexico. Pizarro found the Peruvian Empire under the benign rule of the Incas, the gorgeous worshippers of the sun, whose system of government was like that of the Aztecs, a despotic theocracy, but in few other respects alike; the fundamental principles of both furnishing a striking contrast, the Incas' sway being based on mild benignity and love, whilst the fierce Aztec based *his* on bloody and barbaric fear.

The two races had no knowledge of each other, although they furnish the highest type of Indian civilization that was found on the Western Hemisphere, the Aztec leading in the North—and the Peruvian in the South American continents.

There was one other,—a strange and mystic race, but whose history is lost,—who passed through Mexico, imparting to the Aztecs much of their civilization and arts, but who could not abide their ferocious and war-like institutions; they passed into Yucatan and Central America, where are found at the present day the ruins of a civilization that forms the wonder and astonishment of the modern world.

Fellow-Citizens :—I cannot linger amid those ruins, nor yet

dwell on the gorgeous magnificence of the Peruvian temples of the Sun, or to trace the bloody lineaments of the sacrificial shrine of the fierce Aztecs; who annually piled their hecatombs of human victims, in order to propitiate the idols of their hideous idolatry ; they have all been crumbled into dust under the advancing power of Christian civilization.

I do not deem it within the province of my theme to describe the viceregal sway of Spain, over her immense possessions on this Hemisphere ; the subject is not a pleasing one, her viceroys and conquerors were too often men of fierce ambitions, who turned their swords upon each other in their strifes for gold and power.

Their career furnishes one of the moral anomalies of the frequency by which the ambition and wickedness of man thwart the beneficent designs of Providence, but the ways of Providence are not man's ways, man's times are not God's times. But I must hurry on to my main subject ; the viceroys, governors and emissaries of Spain, continued to succeed each other down to the beginning of the present century, drawing their inspirations of loyalty, and lust of power and gold, from the fountain of a foreign monarchy that in its day was the haughtiest in Europe.

Notwithstanding the Iron rule of the viceroys, the people,—God's people,—increased and multiplied until one day they awakened to the glorious consciousness that *they* were the rightful owners and possessors of the land, *they* inherited from their fathers, and that they should govern it in the manner which to them seemed best. The time and opportunity soon presented themselves ; the time had come when the misrule of Monarchies, the avarice of monopolies, and the tyranny of viceroys were to be overthrown forever.

The invasion of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808 for the purpose of placing his brother Joseph on the Spanish Throne, and the abdication of Charles the Fourth,—the deposing and captivity of his son Ferdinand the Seventh,—resulted in the absolute surrendering to Joseph Bonaparte all the rights of the Bourbon family to the crown of Spain.

Then followed the formation of *Junta's* or provisional governments, in several parts of Spain ; finally those Junta's resolved themselves into the Supreme *Junta* of Seville ; which met and proclaimed allegiance to Ferdinand the Seventh. In the meantime orders were immediately forwarded to the colonies from Ferdinand and the council of the Indies, to transfer their allegiance to France ; so that the Spanish Junta, and Joseph Bonaparte *both* claimed the allegiance of the colonies.

The news of those events produced the first shock to royal authority in the colonies ; both the Junta and King Joseph granted liberal concessions to their *subjects* in America ; but those concessions came too late ; throughout the whole of Spanish Colonial America, the same causes were everywhere in operation ; and with little or no difference in point of time, they were everywhere producing the same effect ; simultaneously, and without concert of action, the standard of revolution was raised—the PEOPLE for the first time awoke to the consciousness of their rights and powers, and deposed the European authorities, and in the plentitude of their new-born strength, they transferred the reins of government to *Junta's* composed almost exclusively of Native Americans.

The first step had been taken for freedom and independence ; that sentiment must have been long slumbering in the hearts of the people ; a fact which is proved by the wonderful and spontaneous unanimity by which the movement was made ; as proved by the following dates : The revolution in Caraccas took place on the 19th day of April, 1809 ; that of La Paez, 15th of July, 1809 ; of Quito, 19th of August, 1809 ; that of Buenos Ayres, 25th of May, 1810 ; that of New Grenada, 3d of July ; of Bogota, 20th of July ; of Cartagena, 18th of August ; of Chili, 18th of September, and of Mexico, 16th of September, 1810.

All those revolutions were inaugurated without concert of action ; when the immense area is considered, there is not such a spontaneous unanimity in a movement for liberty on record.

Although they asserted and continued their allegiance

to Ferdinand the Seventh, and contributed largely for the support of his cause in Spain; the Spanish Regency in its blind and arrogant fatuity withdrew the liberal concessions which had been granted to the colonies, and sent stringent orders to the Viceroy's, Spanish Monopolists and dependents, to crush out the revolutionary Junta's, and maintain the authority of Spain; to deal with them as rebels, and continue the iron-handed rule, and monopolizing prerogatives, which crushed the energies of the people for nearly three centuries; and on the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne, he not only sanctioned those proceedings, but instituted still more rigorous measures for their execution.

The question then became, in the immutable order of events, one of absolute separation and independence; so the standard of independence throughout all the Spanish colonies was given to the breeze. That standard was upheld and maintained with a patriotism, a valor, and a heroic sacrifice on the shrine of liberty, unparalleled in the annals of any people who triumphed in the same cause; and was resisted on the part of Spain, in the vain endeavor to perpetuate her rule, with a cruel, bloody, and unrelenting energy.

The Spanish or Creole race, as a people, have immortalized themselves in their wars for independence; and the names of Bolivar, San Martin and Hidalgo will be remembered as long as the spirit of liberty finds a home in the hearts of men.

The grand results of those long, fierce and bloody wars for independence, was the establishment, in every instance, of free federal Republican Institutions similar to our own, thereby forming a sisterhood of Republics that should be invincible to the World.

The time has come, and it is most seasonable and propitious, when a grand federative Congress of all the Republics of the Western Hemisphere, should be held in order to evolve, enact, proclaim and establish a united independent Republican alliance,—based upon an uncompromising, non-temporizing, and thoroughly American Conti-

nental policy, supported by an American Hemispherical LAW at once firm, comprehensive and just, equally binding upon all ; then the "Monroe Doctrine" would become LAW, and one of the fixed principles in the government of this Hemisphere ; then we should have no more monarchies established under our nose, which are a stench to republican nostrils ;—then all those monarchies who are holding on to the skirts of the Hemisphere would soon let go their hold and go HOME ;—then all obstacles to the destiny and career of this Hemisphere would be removed.

Since the raising of the standard of revolution in Mexico in 1810 by Hidalgo and Morelos, over half a century ago, peace has been unable to find a home in the land. Alas ! it is the *Aceldama*, the field of blood of the Western Hemisphere.

During the long period of fourteen years, the Mexicans maintained the contest for independence with bloody and unyielding tenacity, until they finally succeeded in establishing a republican form of government. But in consequence of the discord which remained inherent in her civil, religious and social polity not being removed,—she presented nothing but one continued scene of internal civil strife down to 1857, when a liberal constitution was adopted, which possesses all the elements of peace and prosperity, and, under its guidance and a reliance on its protecting shield, there was nothing to prevent that heroic republic from entering upon a glorious career of prosperity and peace, if left to herself.

The world supposed that she had drained to the dregs the cup of misery and misrule, but there was reserved for her lips a bitterer draught, and that was in being unable to resist effectually the treacherous invasion of her soil by a European monarch ; that despotic national outrage finds a fit paternity in Napoleon the Third, "nephew to his uncle," the all-grasping tyrant of Corsica.

That invasion succeeded in overthrowing the republic in the capitol, and erecting in its stead a foreign empire, installed by foreign bayonets under the false and hollow pretense of establishing a permanent, peaceful and prosperous government.

He placed a scion of the house of Hapsburg upon the throne ; an Austrian adventurer, who is nothing more than a puppet in his hands, which he uses to establish fabulous claims against the nation.

It is almost certain that in this proceeding on the part of Napoleon the Third, the events that will have taken place in its solution, will have dispelled the halo that surrounds the supposed possession on his part of a profound, sagacious and far-reaching intellect. His puppet, Maximilian, true to the despotic instincts of his house has put to death ; murdered in cold blood, by his Neronian decrees, over 25,000 officers and men, taken in the defence of the liberties of their country,—the best blood in Mexico. It will be a lasting disgrace and a source of shame to our giant republic for the cold indifference with which she looks on those bold and bloody atrocities at her very door, when she needs but to speak and stretch forth her arm in help and encouragement to the gallant and heroic patriots that are fighting for the possession of their homes and country and its republican institutions. Give the men of Mexico the moral and political support of the United States, and they will soon hurl the usurper and his minions into the gulph that rolls its tepid waves against their blood-stained shore.

The men of Mexico should take heart and courage, and be of good cheer. The dawn of their regeneration is already gilding their political horizon ; they have passed through a terrible and fiery ordeal in reaching that regeneration. *They will yet win the crimson palm of victory and bear it aloft from all the peoples of this Hemisphere, as having proved the greatest devotion, and having offered up the bloodiest sacrifices at the shrine of their country's liberties ; as having given the noblest vindication of the "Monroe Doctrine," and given to its interpretation the force of prophecy.*

Fellow-Citizens :—When Mexico shall have emerged from the present great trial of her destiny, in firmly re-establishing her republican liberty, with her pale brow wreathed with the laurel of victory ; when the political leprosy

under which she has languished so long shall have been cleansed by the national baptism of blood, she will enter upon a career of well established liberty and progress, peace and prosperity, that will challenge the approbation of all her sister republics. Then will she be seen to rise from the ashes of the past, and to enter upon the development of the inexhaustible opulence of her mineral wealth, the wonderful fertility of her agricultural resources, and being placed by nature almost in the centre of this Hemisphere, she will challenge the enterprise of the commercial nations of the world.

In order to accelerate that exalted and humane consummation, it is the imperative duty of the United States Government to *enforce immediately* the principles of the "Monroe Doctrine," as applicable to Mexico, in the clearest light of the principles embodied in that doctrine.

So far as a proper interpretation of that doctrine goes, it is lamentably certain that the statesmen and politicians of our time attach far less importance to that great principle than did President Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and all the post revolutionary statesmen of the republic. They understood that they had accomplished a greater work than we are ready to admit or act upon; they thought the principle had been settled in the courts of Europe, and that it had entered into the recognition of international relations, and international law; that no European state was to interfere in the affairs of the governments of the Western continents after their independence had been recognized by all the powers of the World.

It was also understood, not only in the United States, but throughout Europe, that any interference in the affairs of the governments of the Western Hemisphere would be considered an act of hostility to the United States. But not so has it been understood in our times, for we have been left to witness the humiliating spectacle of invasion by France of the soil of Mexico, and the creating of an imperial throne for a European prince to sit upon; established by virtue of French military invasion, and sustained by French military power, no real reference

having been had throughout the whole transaction, to the wishes or to the feelings of the people of Mexico. Had Louis Napoleon supposed that we attached importance enough to the "Monroe Doctrine," to see it vigorously defended, it cannot be believed that he would have undertaken so bold and unprovoked an act of imperial wrong and invasion.

The consequence has been that our own government has sunk deep in the opinion of mankind; either on the score that we did not dare to maintain one of the fundamental principles of American statesmanship and public law; or that we could look without concern upon the overthrow of a neighboring sister republic. In either case the result has been the same to us; for it has cost us that prestige which none of the fathers of this republic or its earliest statesmen would have surrendered.

Mexico was entitled not only to our protection in that case, but there are good and substantial reasons why we should have extended it to her, especially under an administration in which Mr. Seward holds the important portfolio of foreign affairs.

It cannot be forgotten that, however much we may reflect on Mexico for permitting the discordant elements of political intrigue to rage so long in her bosom, she is entitled to rank far above ourselves in having the very moment she breathed the air of independence, abolished slavery; while our republic cherished its foul embrace afterwards for a whole generation.

The future historian of Mexico will have one brilliant chapter to write on this subject, ante-dating ours by a period of more than forty years.

Fellow-Citizens :—Let us now turn our attention to the gallant little republics of South America: and what do we see transpiring there? We behold those spirited republics nobly vindicating the "Monroe Doctrine" at the cannon's mouth; we behold their old enemy, Spain, moved by the instincts of blind cupidity, and emboldened by a ridiculous, Quixotic, and imbecile vanity;—engaged in an aggressive and arrogant expedition for the *recovery* and *revindication*

of her former sway,—and advancing as a reason, the gross sophistry of a state of truce, since the war of independence; an independence those republics have maintained for over forty years, with that untenable plea on her lips, and with avarice and dominion in her heart; she has seized and holds possession of the Chincha Islands belonging to Peru, in order to replenish by their commercial wealth her depleted treasury.

The then existing administration of Peru, traitorously acquiesced in the outrage and robbery, whereat the Peruvian *people* arose as one man, and deposed the administration, and put in its place one that was pledged to declare war,—instant war,—for the maintenance of their integrity as a nation, and their independence as a people.

In those proceedings they enlisted the sympathy and support of the citizens of a neighboring Republic, (whose government violated no international law,) the gallant little Republic of Chili; “heroic Chili,” (that, “country embraced between the Andes and the Pacific; between Cape Horn and Desert of Atacama;”) for the independent and patriotic action of the citizens of Peru, from the conviction that an attack upon the honor and integrity of one Republic by a Monarchical Power, was an attack upon all.

An imperious demand was made on their government, on the part of the Spanish minister for explanations, embracing frivolous charges of want of respect for her subjects and the honor of her flag. Those explanations were temperately and satisfactorily given, and accepted by the Spanish minister; his acceptance of those explanations was repudiated by his government; he was superseded, and Admiral Pareja, clothed with the plenary powers of both minister and admiral, presented an ultimatum, embodying still more extended demands, more rigorous and humiliating conditions.

How was that ultimatum answered by the indomitable Republic of Chili? it was answered by a prompt, unanimous, and fearless declaration of war. Then was perpetrated the greatest act of naval barbarity of modern times; the bombardment of a thickly populated, unprepared and defenseless city;—the city of Valparaiso; against the united remonstrances and protest of the whole diplomatic corps resident in Chili.

This marauding barbarian of the Pacific, proceeded from thence to Callao, where he repeated a similar outrage ; but thanks to the valor of the Peruvians, he was defeated and disabled to such an extent, that he was compelled to retreat for repairs and reinforcements, and as is presumed, in order to re-commence his career of disturbing the peace and security of Independent Republics.

This Spanish fleet, under the command of this Quixotic admiral, is a menace to every republic on the South American Continent, justifying its presence there on the ostensible ground of enforcing greater respect for its honor and its flag, but in reality, it is a part of the programme of CÆSARISM inaugurated in Europe ;—a programme based upon the supposition, that in the event of the overthrow of the Republic of the United States of North America, by the late rebellion, republicanism and the grand principle of self-government would have proved a failure on this Hemisphere ; and that its rule would revert back to the monarchies of Europe. Monstrous hallucination of imbecile Royalty ! Glorious triumph of Republicanism ! The tide of Cæsarism will be rolled back to the fetid and corrupt limits of its own origin.

The monarchs of Europe are compelled to concentrate their forces for the preservation of their own households ;—GOD REIGNS ; and now we behold them turning their swords upon each other ; the pregnant events of the last few years, have taught them a lesson for their guidance in the future ; and all those audacious and treacherous conspiracies on their part, against our power and progress, our institutions and our honor ; and more especially on the part of England, *who forges the bolts she dare not hurl*, should teach us a lesson for all time ; we should profit by that lesson, by immediately embodying the grand principles of the Monroe Doctrine, into the force and majesty of a supreme international republican LAW ; determining at once and forever the relations between this Hemisphere and all monarchial governments, in regard to the dissemination and propagation of their pernicious crusades, having in view the subversion of our Republican liberty and Institutions.

Now let us glance at the Atlantic slope of the South American Continent, where we find the anomalous spectacle of

two republics; the Argentine and Uruguayan Republics,—in alliance with the Empire of Brazil; and at war with the Republic of Paraguay; ostensibly a republic,—but in reality a despotism, under the successive dictatorship of two individuals during the last half century; isolating and excluding herself from all community of interest with her sister republics, in the development of her resources, or in their wars for independence. In fact, her whole system of government renders her amenable to the charge of being the *China* of the Western Hemisphere.

It may be reasonably assumed, that it is in the order of events transpiring in our age, that the war at present raging there, will terminate in the desirable consummation of opening up the greatest agricultural and commercial treasures of the torrid zone to the enterprise of the civilized world.

Owing to the liberal and enlightened statesmanship that marks the policy of the government of Brazil, it is perfectly reconcilable with the progress of the age that the two republics above mentioned should be in alliance with that native empire; more especially as the war was aggressively commenced by Paraguay, who invaded those countries simultaneously without notice or declarations to either of the governments.

It is to be regretted that the republic of Venezuela and the united republics of Colombia should hold themselves aloof from all alliance with their sister republics, either of the Pacific or Atlantic; the time may be at hand when they will be compelled to change their short-sighted policy for their own preservation, for it is more than probable that the eventualities of political events (and of imperial indications) transpiring in Europe may prove that the European Powers have not abandoned their crusade against this Hemisphere; but, on the contrary, that they will pursue it with redoubled energy, and with redoubled imperial determination to precipitate upon our shores such an invading force as will require a *third* great war in order to secure and establish forever the Empire of the West.

The Argentine Republic or the United Provinces of the River Platte has become of late years a great field for the enterprise and capital of citizens of the United States, where

they have entered into competition with the English, in the construction of steam marine,—of extensive lines of railroads,—and equally extensive lines of telegraphs,—the great scientific and material agents in making all countries tributary to the advancement and necessities of mankind.

From the date of her independence in 1816 down to 1855, civil wars and internal discords are to be seen on every page of Argentine history, inheriting similar elements of discord with the other republics; but in the following ten years, order, stability and national development seems to have been permanently secured.

The Argentine Republic has a federal form of government, which is composed of fourteen States, and has a constitution similar to that of the United States; it embraces the extensive area of 900,000 square miles, reaching to the frigid zone of the South, and to the torrid zone at the North. In the allied war against Paraguay, which she was far from provoking, she expects no reward but the liberty of the Paraguayan people, and to deliver them from the rule of stupid and sanguinary despots. She has put into the field an army of 30,000 troops, which, joined with the allied troops, constitute a body of 75,000 men, well armed and equipped, which makes the largest force ever assembled in South America; General Bartholomeo Mitré, President of the Argentine Republic, is commander-in-chief of the armies.

Fellow-Citizens:—The foregoing is but a brief outline of the Western Hemisphere and its republics; the magnitude of the subject precludes the possibility of details in one evening's discourse. When the historical facts embodied in the birth and establishment of a common identity of republican institutions are properly considered,—the great necessity of a common bond of unity and integrity underlying the councils and policy of all the republics,—based upon the homogeneity of all the peoples of this Hemisphere under the common name of American;—for that name is broad, and grand and great enough for all. All must be convinced that a combined republican patriotism is the surest and best policy for all.

It is to be hoped that Cuba and Canada will soon be added to our family of republics ; it is very apparent that the signs of the times indicate such a consummation ; all questions of race or races, or the superiority or the supremacy of one race over another should be discarded and ignored as possessing a subtle and poisonous element of discord which would undermine the fundamental principles of our institutions,—that of equality, progress and prosperity ;—a common identity of political institutions should foster, encourage and cultivate a common identity of interest. Enlightened statesmanship and common sense, divested of partizanship, will always perceive and direct the true welfare of a people or a nation.

When the united power of the republics of this Hemisphere shall have been eliminated and demonstrated into the form of a LAW,—a *law* not only defining their relations with European monarchies, but also *with each other*,—in defining and protecting inviolate the integrity of their boundaries ;—a law establishing a closer, more general and extensive friendly intercourse,—upon which treaties can be negotiated, granting liberal and comprehensive commercial immunities to each other, thereby enlisting sympathetic emulation in respect and honor ;—and inviting the enterprise, the capital, the intelligence of each other, in preference to that of Europe (which so much prevails), in the development of their boundless mineral, agricultural and commercial resources ; in all the structural elements of activity and progress ; in the dissemination of the blessings of enlightened Christian education, thereby removing the dark barriers of ignorance, prejudice and bigotry which are so detrimental to friendly interest and mutual good will. When the republics will have accomplished those relations with each other, then this Hemisphere will have entered anew upon that enlightened career of Democracy unchecked by the enemy without, or the enemy within ;—that sublime career of raising man—all men ;—and from all climes, to that elevated sphere which the beneficent design of Providence intended he should occupy. God speed the Western Hemisphere.

THE END.









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